



KNOWLEDGE . . . LIBERTY . . . UTILITY . . . REPRESENTATION . . . RESPONSIBILITY.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1834.

NO. 32.

From the Court Magazine.

SONG OF THE IRISH PEASANT WIFE.

BY MRS. NORTON.

Come, Patrick, clear up the storm on your brow,
You were kind to me once—will you frown on me now?
Shall the storm settle here when it from Heav'n departs,
And the cold from without find its way to our hearts?
No, Patrick, no, surely the winniest weather
Is easily borne—while we bear it together.

Though the rain's dropping through from the roof to the floor,
And the wind whistles free where there once was a door;
Can the rain, or the snow, or the storm wash away
All the warm vows we made in love's early day?
No, Patrick, no, surely the dark stormy weather
Is easily borne—so we bear it together.

When you stole out to woo me, when labor was done,
And the day that was closing to us seemed begun,
Did we care if the sunset was bright on the flowers,
Or if we crept out amid darkness and showers?
No, Patrick, we talked while we braved the wild weather,
Of all we could bear—if we bore it together.

Soon, soon, will these dark dreary days be gone by,
And our hearts be lit up with a beam from the sky.
Oh! let not our spirits, embittered with pain,
Be dead to the sunshine that comes to us then:
Heart in heart—hand in hand—let us welcome the weather,
And, sunshine or storm, we will bear it together.

J. FENNIMORE COOPER.

Among the tricks, to which the most desperate of all political factions have resorted, there is none more certain to cover their faces with confusion, when this bank-mad excitement has subsided, than the mean and futile attempts to cast odium upon the literary as well as political character of the author of the "Pioneers." Combinations have been made to prevent the sale of his works, as though the genius of democracy could be made blind to the merits of her best advocates, and the press of a free people subsidized, to serve the interests of the aristocracy. Even his national preferences, of which every true American ought to be proud—even his watchfulness over the seductive influences of aristocratic pageantry upon the American youth—even his admiration of the character of Lafayette, have been put into the hands of impertinent and ignorant sub-editors in the offices of the most scurrilous and unprincipled of our American Journals, as weapons to belabor his literary reputation. They who are wonderfully pleased with the political influence of such works as "The Young Duke," "Henry Masterton," "Mary of Burgundy," &c. upon the minds of youth, whose future opinions, if they are true to their country, must be at war with all the doctrines of hereditary power—they who can see no objectionable models for characters in the half Quixotic heroes of D'Israeli, and they who praise every thing from the pen of Bulwer, but his liberal politics, may well profess blindness to the philanthropy of the "Wept of the Wishtowish," and indifference to the political lessons taught in "Lionel Lincoln," "The Spy," and "The Bravo." But it belongs to the enlightened, the patriotic, the honest dealing friends of the American Democracy, to do justice to the motives and labors of J. FENNIMORE COOPER. The worn-out hacks of *Blue Light Federalism*, and the abettors of Dartmoor massacres, are not expected to deal better by the benefactors of the republic than they have by its founders, and its defenders. They who have heaped calumny upon the heads of Jefferson, Madison, and Tompkins, are not expected to spare the admirers of their precepts and the imitators of their liberal zeal. They cannot, however, shut the eyes of the people to reason, even should they succeed in casting the works of Cooper for a while into the shade.—*Buffalo, N. Y. Rep.*

BENTON MONEY.

Some of the gold of the new stamp has made its appearance in Franklin. We had a half eagle, worth \$5—for which we were offered a five dollar United States Bank bill and a Mexican

dollar, by a soldier of the revolution. Said he, with a tear in his eye, "the time is long past, but old and decrepid as I am, I can well revert back to the period when *this* (the gold) and *not this rag concern*, (the bill) was the currency of a happy and independent land."—*Franklin (La.) Republican.*

From a Newcastle (England) Paper.

We must earnestly request the attention of our readers to the account of the proceedings of the American Congress, their resolutions, and those of the industrious classes, regarding the infamous Bank. Never was exposure more important than this; never did we read any thing with such heartfelt delight as these documents. Again and again, we request the patriotic men of the north of England to peruse and reperuse these extraordinary documents, and if in doing so they do not feel admiration and gratitude toward the illustrious Jackson, and the industrious, wise, and determined citizens of the United States, such as one set of men never felt for another, we are mistaken in them.

Compared with the General, the Lawyer and the President, what a poor, bedizened, lean, hooked-nosed, brainless thing of a worn out drill sergeant does Wellington look; compared with these wise, patriotic, and determined Republicans, what silly, duped, and stupid wretches are the tax paying, stock jobbing, saving bank depositing creatures, that twattle at public meetings about London. This is really our "nunc dimittis."

Ten days ago, we had a letter from a quarter on which it was impossible for us not to place great reliance, assuring us that the American working classes, writhing under the temporary distress, caused by the destruction of the villainous Bank's villainous paper money, were upon the point of turning against the lion-hearted Jackson. We own that when we read this letter, our heart died within us, and we felt as if the best hopes of human kind had lost some great anchor. We knew all the intensity of alarm and distress it was in the power of the paper villains to produce; we knew they would, without remorse, produce it, and we feared it. Thank God, these fears are relieved. The brave farmers and artisans—the men who formed the militia, which destroyed Packenham and his borough-monger hirelings at New Orleans, and the sailors who drove on shore, and annihilated the flotillas of Provost on the lakes, these every way invincible men are firm, and with them Congress is firm—for be it recollected, the real representatives of the United States are elected under a suffrage nearly universal.

It was high time, the super-insolent miscreants, it seems, relying on the support of a would-be aristocracy, actually refused to produce their books and correspondence, according to law, when called upon to do so. This was an act of direct and avowed resistance to their government, and we hope they will be dealt with accordingly.

But it is to the resolutions of the working classes, that we wish to call the attention of the sensible and patriotic men of the north of England. Never was there so beautiful a document; see their knowledge of this somewhat intricate subject; see their views and language as to these execrable impositions called "National Debts." We look at home, and blush at the comparison—but we blush unjustly; we ought to have remembered that these men, sagacious as they are, have had the assistance of a press really independent, really able, and really instructive, whilst Englishmen have been systematically misled and deceived by those bribed vehicles of sycophancy, slander, slang, and slipshod, yept in this country "newspapers." As far as our humble efforts can go, this shall be so no longer. We once more entreat the attention of our readers to these extraordinary documents. The Newcastle Press, we know, reaches America, and whilst we convey to the industrious class there the strongest expression of our gratitude and admiration, and of the gratitude and admiration of those who think with us, and they are many, we would with every sentiment and deference, beg them—not to persevere, for that we know they will do, but to go yet further. If they allow the circulation of notes for twenty dollars, their currency will only be upon the unsafe footing of that of England, that is to say, a few grains of metal to a bushel of world.

paper. If they stop at fifty dollars, they will assimilate it to that of England, as it existed before the reign of the quack of quacks, Pitt. If they will not permit any note under one hundred dollars to circulate, they will then have a currency like that of France, nearly all gold and silver; a currency which has stood the test of two conquests, and one revolution.

WHAT HAS THE BANK DONE?

Here is a catalogue of its meritorious deeds! Read, and wonder that such an institution should ask for a charter from freemen!

1. In 1819, it nearly ruined the country by the excessive overtrading it had induced through its extensive loans.

2. In 1828, it first assumed the character of "a great electioneering machine."

3. In 1831, it authorized its President to spend as much money out of its vaults as he chose, although one-seventh of its whole stock belongs to the People of the United States; to bribe presses and issue such publications as would prejudice the People in favor of the Bank.

4. It then also began to lavish its treasures upon members of Congress.

5. In 1832, it denounced the President of the United States as a violator of law, and assimilated him to counterfeiting felons.

6. The same year it expended thousands and tens of thousands of the People's money, in endeavors to corrupt the elective franchise.

7. The same year it violated its charter, in illegally interfering with the public debt.

8. The same year its partisans began the proscriptive policy of discharging every poor man from their employ, who would not vote the Bank ticket.

9. The same year it ran its two attorneys for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States.

10. In 1833, it first excluded the People's Directors from all participation in the important business of the board of directors—called them "spies," and sought to coerce them to resign, that it might be unwatched in its works of iniquity.

11. The same year it seized the pension fund, and refused to permit the government to pay off the claims of the hoary headed sires of the revolution.

12. The same year it set up its claims against the People of \$158,000 on the French draft, when it had rendered no service and sustained no loss.

13. The same year it commenced its pressure and panic, to the ruin of thousands, under the vain hope of ruling the People, through fear.

14. In 1834, it turned Saul Alley, one of the People's Directors, from the board, although bearing the commission of the Government in his hand.

15. It contemptuously refused to submit its books and papers to a committee of the People's representatives for investigation.

16. It seized against justice, law, and common right, 158,000 dollars of the People's money, upon the shadow of a claim it had set up the year before.

17. It threatened to seize the remaining million that had remained in its vaults, of the People's money and then dividends on the public stock, because the deposits had been removed from its custody.

18. It authorized its President to apply to Congress for a recharter, and places its attorneys and stockholders on the several Congressional tickets in the country, for election by the People.

19. To secure their election, it is now spending thousands, and hundreds of thousands of dollars, one-seventh of which is the People's money.

20. It has, from the commencement of its charter to the present time, opposed a gold and silver currency, the only currency known to the constitution; substituting in lieu thereof, paper promises to pay.

Fellow Freemen! these are facts that have been proved to the



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TO SUBSCRIBERS.

In conformity with the terms of subscription to this paper, it is requested that those who have, through any cause, omitted to pay the advance of 5 dollars, will be pleased to do so without delay, in order that preparation for a daily publication may be made before the meeting of Congress.

The Editor employs no collector, because the fair wages of such a person would be a reduction of so much of the subscription.—Payment will be received every week day, before ten o'clock or between one and three o'clock, at the office, Elizabeth St. Or from ten to one, and three to five, at No. 7, State House Buildings.

LESSONS FROM HISTORY.

No. V.

In a preceding number, under this head, we referred to some former articles on Irish History. That long abused and slandered nation has, under the very pressure of its subjection to the jealous, intolerant, and tyrannical policy of England for seven hundred years, by the genius, energy, and virtue of her sons, obtained a higher regard, and a more natural estimation, in the eyes of the world, and even of England herself, though she clings to the unnatural principles of an imagined superiority, and a title of allegiance, which has no foundation in nature nor in moral justice.

The spirit of the age abhors all despotism—and despots tremble at the manifest augmentation and diffusion of popular power. With the example of *these States* before the eyes of civilized man,—the ease with which sedition and corruption are put down by the ballot, proves that though they may disturb, they cannot destroy,—it is impossible that a nation of eight millions of people, in the eyes of Europe, can rest under a subjugation which makes a pretext of the laws of God to divest a whole people of the rights of free judgment and self-government.

Some sketches of the case of Ireland, cannot be inopportune now, nor indeed at any time; and we prefer presenting to our readers matters of general history, and objects of utility applicable to the uses of freemen, rather than occupy our columns with the romances and figments, which make up so much of our boasted *thousand and one journals*.

Among persons who have reached a certain stage of education, or of self-cultivation, history generally forms a large part of general knowledge; that is history, such as the partiality and prejudices of the historian deems best adapted to obtain favor or reward with his countrymen. The readers of history among us are confined to those of England, unless here and there an insulated reader dips into *Folney or Voltaire, Gibbon or Russell, Muratori or Sismondi*.

Hume, to use an expression of Mr. Jefferson to the writer, "has debauched the minds of the young men of our country with false history and pernicious principles." Yet this is the leading history of England; an example of his probity may serve to illustrate the sentiment expressed by Mr. Jefferson.

When Hume's History appeared, the gentlemen of Ireland who cultivated history for its benefits and its pleasures, and of their own country especially, as their matrons are accustomed to mourn for years over the memory of those whom they loved; astonished at the slander which Hume had vented against the Irish as a people, and his falsification of Irish history, resolved to collect the evidence of the facts which he had falsified, and having accomplished it, delegated a committee of highly reputable men to wait on Mr. Hume, and enable him to rectify the wrongs which he had deliberately committed. They crossed the Irish sea, presented themselves to Mr.

Hume, and produced their evidence. What was the answer of the Jacobite? It was to this effect. "I have read your representation and your evidence. I cannot contradict you, but I must not contradict myself—it is now published history."

Such is the mode in which we receive Irish history, or rather we receive fiction, prejudice, slander, and fanaticism, jealousy and angry envy, instead of faithful narrative. The historians are not better informed, nor less ludicrous, than the Trollopes and Hamiltons, who write libels and lampoons adapted to the taste of their readers, without any regard for the reputation that grows out of their views.

There has not been yet written any faithful or dispassionate history of Ireland. Ferdinando Warner, an English gentleman, published a history, which in some respects merits approbation; he betrays prejudice, though he appears desirous to avoid it. He wanted some acquaintance with the native literature, but was not competent to acquire it, and like Dr. Johnson's criticism of Ossian, must be considered as inspiration—since he knew nothing of the language; a knowledge of which was necessary to the formation of a judgment.

Dr. Thomas Leland made a History his probationary thesis for promotion to a bishopric; and though he appears sensible of the obstacles, prejudices, animosities, the turbulence of pride, the virulence of faction, and the passions which surround such an undertaking, he undertook the work with an avowal—"that the historian of Irish affairs must be armed against censure by integrity, which confines him to truth, and a literary courage which despises every charge but that of wilful or careless misrepresentation."

Yet he falls into the same track. For although he professes to confine himself to events subsequent to the "*adventure of Henry's subjects*," because he feels disqualified by being totally unacquainted with the native language, he nevertheless passes judgments of various kinds upon those very objects which he did not understand. And it is in this way the Irish annals have been constantly treated under the prejudices and hatreds of a nation, who could never forgive them, because they had wronged and continue to wrong them.

A more recent writer, (our edition of Leland is of 1774,) W. C. Taylor, also of Trinity College, Dublin, published two years ago what he entitles "A History of the civil wars of Ireland, from the Anglo-Norman invasion to the Union in 1800." Like his predecessor, he is disqualified for an opinion on a language of which he knows nothing, and dismisses the ancient portion of Irish History with a *new discovery*, that the "Monks of the middle ages surpassed their brethren of Britain in the art of fabricating history." His Introductory chapter is, therefore, as fair a history of Irish affairs, as the Waverly novels are authentic recountings of real men and women. He affects to quote terms, and to exhibit customs, and he betrays his utter misapprehension or absolute ignorance of what he pretends to explain and elucidate. He indiscreetly ventures to talk of the chiefs whom he calls *Carfene*, but which is really *Keen Pheni*, or the *head men*—the leader of the *Pheni*, or Phenicians. He talks of the *Betages*, a word unknown to the language, and describes them as the same as the Norman villains. The people whom he has thus transfigured, are the *Beaughes*, or *Betags*, who were of the class of landlords, or landholders; and he speaks with similar misintelligence of *fostering* and *gossipry*, without understanding them, though he speaks of them contemptuously. Had he travelled in Persia, he might have found those institutions there; and in the *giolla* of the Irish, he might have recognised the *gollamh* of the Persians, the favorites, the elect, the élité; and he might have found, among the *Tartars* and *Turks*, the very same objects of censure and reprobation.

The title of Mr. Taylor's book is itself a solecism; he

calls the wars of the English in Ireland *civil wars*—that is, a war made by the *citizens* upon the government. But we have the authority of Sir John Davis, who was the Attorney General of Ireland, for showing the absurdity of calling that a civil war which was the unceasing resistance of a whole nation for 300 years. The title of Sir John Davis's book is sufficient for the purpose; it is this, "*A discovery of the causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience to the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's reign.*" That Majesty was James I. In fact, the English did not exercise power up to the period here cited, over more than five out of thirty-two counties; and these five counties were denominated within the pale,—all the rest of the island was without the pale, and governed by the native authorities. Sir John Davis leaves no doubt upon his construction of the case; he says: "I call that a perfect conquest of a country which doth reduce all the people thereof to the condition of subjects, and those I call subjects which are governed by the ordinary laws and magistrates of the sovereign."

We have wasted more space on Mr. Taylor than he merits, though we find in the fourth line of his preface, a sentiment, which, coming from such a source, merits particular attention. He says: "even now (1831,) after the lapse of nearly seven centuries, *the suspicious jealousy of foreign rule is as strong as at the first arrival of the invaders.*"

The fact is so,—it is inextinguishable, and the policy continued to be pursued, is not likely to soothe the Irish into acquiescence. We see in it however an opposite result. The sturdy steadiness of the Irish must tend to restrain England in the career of desperate war and envy which has overwhelmed the English people. The strength of eight millions of such people, is a formidable check upon ambition! It requires 25,000 British soldiers to maintain foreign rule, now in the thirty-fourth year of the nineteenth century, after a reputed conquest of 610 years!

The topic is so fruitful of reflection, that we have not fulfilled the very purpose with which we proposed beginning, that is a concise chronological enumeration of leading events, something of a description illustrative of the history, condition, and the policy pursued by England and Ireland.

These objects may be the subjects of a few future essays.

We shall close this article by some observations on rumors which have reached us. Thomas Moore, the Irish Bard, had been designated by the "Society for diffusing Useful Knowledge," to prepare a concise history of his native country.

After the display of spirit and manly courage which Thomas Moore had given in his *Memoirs of Captain Rock*; but, above all, in his unreserved eulogy on the gallant Lord Fitzgerald, the selection did unusual and unexpected honor to those who selected him.

We have heard that the work, so far as the author was concerned, had been completed; but that its publication was suspended,—that it consisted of four handsome sized volumes, but had been proposed to be *guttled down to two*,—and that the author took *umbrage*, where he remained, indisposed to capitulate.

We shall be pleased to learn that no difficulties have occurred; but if suppression of truth be attempted, the author cannot be ignorant where truth and freedom always finds a welcome and a refuge.

In the message of the Governor of Michigan, it was confidently stated that the census ordered to be taken would show the population of the territory to be sixty thousand. Although the returns are not yet complete, the number already comes up to this sum, and a Detroit paper says will finally exceed it several thousand. The population of Detroit, the capital, is about five thousand.—*Balt. Amer.*

GEORGIA AND THE JUDICIARY.

On the 7th instant a message was delivered by the Governor of Georgia to the Senate of that State, of which the following is a copy:

"Executive Department, Geo., }
Milledgeville, 7th Nov., 1834. }

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"At the commencement of the present session of the General Assembly, I felt myself compelled, in the discharge of my official duty, to lay before you my views in relation to the present state of our Indian affairs, together with various documents tending to sustain the opinion submitted. Since that message was written, additional information has been communicated to this department, through various channels, which cannot fail to confirm every important view which I have heretofore submitted to the Legislature, in regard to the perplexing relations, which continue to exist with the Cherokee Indians, who still reside within the limits of the State. The character of the information alluded to, may be judged of, by reference to the letter of William G. Springer, Esq., agent, &c., a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

"Yesterday I received a paper from the hand of William Y. Hansell, Esquire, purporting to be the copy of a citation, signed by Henry Baldwin, Esquire, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, (a copy of which is herewith submitted,) requiring the State of Georgia to appear before the Supreme Court, on the 2d Monday of January next, to answer to that tribunal, for having caused a person, who had committed murder within the limits of the State, to be tried and convicted therefor. This mandate can be considered in no other light than another, and third attempt, to control the State in the exercise of its ordinary criminal jurisdiction, which has been vested by our Constitution exclusively in our own Superior Courts. Such a control over our own criminal jurisdiction, as this proceeding indicates, has never been delegated to the United States, and consequently cannot be acquiesced in, or submitted to by the People and the authorities of Georgia. 'The powers not delegated by the Constitution of the United States nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively.'

"Any attempt to infringe the rights of the State to govern its entire population, of whatever complexion, and punish all offences committed against its laws within those limits, (due regard being had to the cases expressly excepted by the Constitution of the United States) I consider a direct usurpation of power, which has never been granted by the States: Such attempts demand the determined resistance of the States: for if persevered in, they will eventuate in the dismemberment and overthrow of our great confederacy. In exercising the duties of the Executive Department, I shall wholly disregard all such unconstitutional inquisitions of whatever character or origin, and to the utmost of my power, protect and defend the rights of this State and use the means afforded me, to maintain the laws and constitution of the same. The Legislature cannot fail to perceive, that the present issue between the State and Federal authorities has been engendered, nurtured and matured by the advice, counsel, conduct and proceedings of certain individuals, claiming to be citizens of Georgia, alluded to and pointed out in my message of the 4th instant. I therefore, earnestly but respectfully urge upon the consideration of the Legislature, the necessity of such measures as shall sustain the policy of the State and the faithful execution of its laws heretofore enacted in relation to our Indian population."

(Signed)

"WILSON LUMPKIN."

(Copy of Citation.)

The United States of America, to the State of Georgia, greeting:

You are hereby cited and admonished to be and appear at a Supreme Court of the United States, to be holden at Washington, on the second Monday of January next, pursuant to writ of error, filed at the Clerk's Office of the Superior Court of the County of Murray, in the State of Georgia, wherein James Graves is plaintiff in error, and you are defendant in error, to show cause, if any there be, why judgment rendered against the said plaintiff in error, as in the said writ of error mentioned, should not be corrected, and why speedy justice should not be done to the parties in that behalf.

Witness the Honorable Henry Baldwin, one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, this twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four.

HENRY BALDWIN.

This message we received too late for other notice. It was an obstinate repetition of a proceeding before referred to, without any other effect than lessening the respect which the acts of the Judiciary ought to be calculated to merit; the Governor would probably do nothing on the subject, the convict will have been hanged according to sentence, on the 21st, (yesterday) and so the dance ends. Limitations of judicial tenure becomes every day more manifestly necessary. It is an anomaly—an irreparable power in government.

Statement of the amount of Gold remaining in the Mint uncoined on the 8th November, 1834, with the amount deposited for coinage within the week ending November 15—together with the amount of New Gold coinage.

Remaining uncoined at the Mint, November 8, \$220,000
Deposited for coinage during the week ending November, 15th, viz.

Uncoined bullion, \$22,200
Coins of the United States of former standard, 106,700

128,900

\$348,900

Amount coined within the week ending November 15, including \$63,500 in quarter eagles, \$127,000

\$221,900

Amount coined from 1st August last, to 8th November, instant, \$2,708,900
Amount coined from 8th to 15th Nov. 127,000

Total amount of new gold coinage, \$2,835,900

Statement of Specie imported into the United States from 1st December, 1833:

Amount as per statement published 30th October last, \$18,797,010 58

To which add imports as per returns received at the Treasury Department since 30th October, viz:

Gold, \$291,299
Silver, 544,959 84
Not designated, 7,307 40

843,566 24

Total imports since 1st Dec. last, \$19,640,576 82

Advices from Jamaica to the 18th ult. have been received by an arrival at New York. It is inferred, from the character of the proceedings before the Stipendiary Magistrates, that the Island is far from being in a state of tranquillity. The slaves or apprentices were quite refractory and restive, and were frequently cited before the magistrates for disobedience and idleness.

In a debate in the House of Assembly on the 17th, Mr. Batty spoke of the critical situation in which the Island was now placed, by the conduct of the negro population. It was notorious that the small portion of labor prescribed by law for the apprentices to perform, was not even done; they most shamefully evaded it, and did not turn out at the hour appointed by law; in fact, they did just as they pleased, and worked as they pleased; they defied their masters, and set their authority at defiance.

All the speakers seem to admit that other provisions are necessary to secure the peace and safety of the Island than those that are placed at the disposal of the Stipendiary Magistrates. A stronger police is said to be required, and it is contended that the mother country ought to sustain the additional expense, inasmuch as by the act of emancipation, it had created the necessity for the burthen.

A dispute had arisen between the new Governor, the Marquis of Sligo, and the House of Assembly, but a deprecatory message from the former, will probably prevent it proceeding further.—*Balt. Amer.*

From the Globe.

MR. LYTLE.

The artful opposition at Cincinnati, by deep guile, and, as we understand, direct fraud, succeeded in getting Mr. Storer, the Bank candidate, returned. He was in the service of the Bank as an officer, as well as a candidate, and yet openly declared to the People that he was opposed to the Bank. He obtained, nevertheless, all the Bank votes, and such others as could be obtained by false professions—and thus, with some bargains and tricks in canvassing the ballots, he succeeded.

Another game was played by the Bank party when Mr. Lytle threw down the gauntlet to Mr. Storer by resigning, and proposing a trial of the strength of parties in a second contest at the polls. The Bank presses sounded a retreat for their candidate. They would have no candidate. Mr. Storer declined the test offered him. But while they pretended to withdraw all opposition, they had a devoted partisan busied in working a schism in the Democratic ranks, under the Working-men's colors, and to him they gave the whole Bank vote in the city, making, with the duped among the Jacksonians, a majority of more than a thousand. This inspired the Bank Intelligencer with most

glorious news. Yesterday it thus announced the success of the Bank's stealthy partisan:

"The whigs refused to bring out any candidate against Mr. LYTLE, apparently thinking that he ought to be content to sit out his whole constitutional time. Mr. Lytle was selected as the candidate, on the other side, to fill his own vacancy. There was every appearance that he would, in sporting phrase, be allowed to walk over the course. A day or two before the election, however, a citizen by the name of J. Washington Mason, a real working man, came forward 'on his own hook,' as an opponent of Mr. Lytle and the misrule of the present Administration. To our very great surprise (we confess) it appears probable, indeed almost certain, that Mr. Mason has actually succeeded against Mr. Lytle! His majority in the city of Cincinnati was 1006 votes; and the majorities reported from the entire district give him a majority, upon the whole, of 26 votes."

The honest whigs "refused to bring out any candidate against Mr. Lytle, apparently thinking that he ought to sit out his whole constitutional term!" Well, in spite of all this adroit management, we are happy to inform our readers, that Mr. Lytle will sit out his term—and if the statements we have heard be true, he will sit out Mr. Storer's term also. The Democrats of the county turned out on this occasion and counteracted the city management of the minority. Mr. Lytle is re-elected by a majority of 43 votes, as will be seen from the following extract of a letter, dated Cincinnati, 12th instant.

"By the returns of our special election received and counted yesterday, it appears that Mr. LYTLE has a majority over Mr. MASON, the (at last) avowed whig candidate, of 43 votes. Mason received the whole whig vote in the city.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant."

Captain THOMAS G. SCOTT, Postmaster of Raleigh, North Carolina, reports the trial and conviction of James Dallerhite, a mail carrier, for robbing the mail on the route between Raleigh and Roxboro'. He was sentenced on the 12th inst. to ten years imprisonment.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Mr. Van Buren has been the object of unmeasured abuse from the opposition party—they have poured one tirade of falsehoods after another upon his devoted head—but their vituperations have produced no other effect than ingratiating him more firmly in the affections of an intelligent and patriotic People. The hirings of the Bank have made one charge after another against him, without substantiating any of them. In spite of their malignity, he stands pre-eminent above all their party slang, conscious that his public acts have met with the approbation of his fellow-citizens.

At the time of the adoption of a new constitution in the State of New York, he stood the successful champion of democratic principles, advocating the rights of the People against the Federalists, who wished to confine the right of suffrage to the rich.

He was appointed minister to the Court of St. James by the President, and was rejected by a haughty and aristocratic Senate, thereby thinking to blast his popularity with the People, but it had the contrary effect. He was then put in nomination as a candidate for Vice President and elected by an overwhelming majority over his opponents; and now he stands as the most prominent candidate for the presidency, to succeed and follow up the measures of our present venerable and worthy Chief Magistrate, and we feel convinced that he will receive the hearty support of a grateful people.—*Beaver (Pa.) Republican.*

NEW MOVING POWER.

At a meeting of the French Academy of Sciences on the 16th of June, a very interesting communication was read from M. Timolier, a skilful chemist, who exhibited to the Academy the apparatus by which he procured a litre (two pints) of liquid carbonic acid in a few seconds. The properties of this substance, he observed have been but little examined, chiefly because it requires to be confined in close vessels hermetically sealed, and capable of resisting a great pressure. It surpasses all known bodies in the expansion and contraction which it undergoes from given variations of temperature. By raising the temperature from 0 to 30 centigrade (32 to 86 of Fahrenheit) a column of the liquefied gas is elongated one-half. With the same change of temperature, a similar column of air is only elongated one-eighth—This enormous dilation, M. Timolier thinks, will afford the elements of a moving power infinitely more effective as well as economical than that which is derived from the expansion of the vapour.

REVIEW.

EDUCATION—No. VIII.

Necessity of Popular Education as a National Object, &c.—
By J. SIMPSON.—Leavitt, Lord, & Co. New York.

As our sole purpose in this Review, and similar discussions, is to excite thought and expose errors of whatever kind, we have had in view more the matter than the order of an exposition; and have therefore been governed more by the incidents which have invited animadversion, than by their place in Mr. Simpson's work.

The sixth chapter, we have already observed, professes to treat of History as a branch of Education. We have already pointed out the infatuation which prevails on this subject. The author has not furnished any mode of mental exercise as a substitute for History; he forgets that men are not angels, and that the suppression of History, partial as it may be, would have the effect of divesting men of that kind of information as to evil, the existence and the effects of which serve as the only examples by which good may be preferred, and desired the more. Our times have displayed a morbid morality, or unfortunate propensity to the false and fictitious, the more remarkable because those who affect to look with a proud disdain upon the Hindu fables of *Vishna Sarman*, (Esop, or Pilpay,) worship with a sort of superstitious devotion the fables of Sir Walter Scott. The orientals had constantly in view, some moral, direct or inferential; they make the brute creation speak; the only difference between them and the moderns is, that the latter make men speak what they never thought, while living, and vanish over the most criminal who have lived, without ever dreaming of that moral justice, which is held to be necessary by sound morality and by the best critics in dramatic composition.

Some fanciful fanatic of our days has written a book, of which the title is, a *World without Souls*. Mr. Simpson, with a kindred imagination, would have a world without History!

Were Education founded on a pure basis of morality—were men taught, or Education directed honestly to realize the Christian summary of all, or of what only is religion—*Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you*—in accordance with the benevolence of the Divinity—what could be more salutary as premonition than the moral excitement of abhorrence which History presents in its ages of cruelty and barbarity. But as Education is conducted *every where*, the very books which are put into the hands of infants, and spread over the world by associations, and magnificent contributions, not only exceed in its atrocious narrations all that is to be found in History called profane, but all those crimes narrated are represented to be the very will and acts of God. Who can reconcile principles of peace and charity, with the whole history of the taking of Jericho, and Ai, and the massacres which extirpated the thirty and one kings of Canaan, from the *Amorites to Pisgah*, as we find them exultingly stated in the Book of Joshua. It was a matter of pious quarrel even to our own times, whether the sun and moon really stood still at the command of Joshua!—in order that this Jenghis Khan of his day, should have time to extirpate an innocent people,—nay a people the most civilized and useful then existing in the known world!

At a very early period of life this matter struck us in another point of view, and of much more moment, at least, with reference to Education. We could readily reconcile the arrest of the planets by the Almighty fiat, but we never could conceive it to be other than blasphemy to ascribe the extirpation of a whole people to the Almighty, and make the Divinity arrest the solar system, in order to render the massacre complete! Such a code of morality is adapted only to perpetuate human wickedness, and to provide models for such ministers as Joshua and Mahomed—Pizarro and Alva—Cromwell and Clive.

Let us turn from the most serious and influential of all the obstacles to the happiness and virtue of mankind, to some observations upon the modes and operations of teaching as it is mechanically conducted; for the publications on Education, periodical as well as special or detached, dwell, without exception, upon *teaching*.

It may be convenient to state the modes, or the manner of conducting children and youth in the acquirement of knowledge, for that is the professed object, however contrary the practice may be.

There are several modes. After the child has parted from the parents, if the parents have not been qualified and judicious in preparing it for the schoolmaster or mistress, the child is set to acquire the ordinary names of the alphabet; then to repeat compounds of vowels and consonants; so prepared for the progressive repetition of compounded syllables or words. Thus far the progress is in conformity with nature, and the defects, though they are many, may be overcome by a more simple and gradual development of the varieties of power or sounds which are capriciously distributed among the letters. These, however, are not the fault of instruction, but should be a guide in providing remedies of form or practice, to overcome or to render their application familiar.

From the syllable lessons, instead of teaching the names and properties of the objects named, of which their future knowledge is to be compounded, the child is led by a progressive augmentation of syllables, without any signification of the words expressed; and lessons are given of numbers of words to be got by rote, equally without signification. Then comes the tasks by rote,—some fable without regard to the moral, or some elegant extract, without regard to the signification of the words, or development of the peculiarity for which the selection is made.

This mode of tuition differs only from Lancaster and Bell's system, in that the tasks are differently wrought, but the same absence of discrimination of terms or development of ideas are common to them all.

A system considered as an improvement of the rote form of teaching, was introduced some forty years ago, called the interrogative system; but even in this there were various modes of applying it. The form existed in the fifteenth century, when it was introduced in Catechisms; in the last century it was adopted in Education, but adopted, as it continues to be, to teach N. W. when it should teach South. One mode, was to read the question by the teacher, and the pupil to read the answer—both out of the same book—and this is the foundation of that disingenuous imposition called *keys* to books, the *keys* being the *answers*!—so that the book bought for instruction is only an instruction in *questions* not understood, for which a new book is required to explain them, and the explanation is very often a mystification. A scheme no otherwise differing from the rote system, than in the manner, but wholly abusing some, since unless the subject was as often repeated as in the mere rote lesson, the impression was not made, and of consequence what was thus read made little impression. The second application of this mode varied only in the questions being put orally, to be answered at leisure; it was only something better than the former, because the pupil was required to answer in language of his own instead of the prepared answers usual in such books.

The French were far in advance of the rest of Europe, in making innovations on the rote system, which nevertheless continues to be pursued in France itself, as well as in England, and in our colleges and grammar schools in the United States.

Several works adapted to facilitate instruction were published under the name of Abbé Bossut; which very much resembled the method called Hamiltonian; but like those of Lancaster and Bell, in only a varied form, they never attempted inculcating ideas by defining words, or the properties of things.

Bell's system was avowedly borrowed from the Hindus, a brief sketch of whose mode of tuition, may not be uninteresting. We shall describe a Hindu teacher, as we first saw him in his school.

Under the shade of a spacious mango tree, a Brahmin of about fifty, was seated with his back against the trunk, elevated four or five inches above the platform, of which the dimensions were marked by the extremes of the canopy formed by the beautiful mango. The Hindus never let the grass grow beneath their fruit trees, and always *dish* the ground for two feet round the stock, so that the rains when they fall, take the direction from the periphery to the centre of the circle.

About ten feet from the Brahmin the pupils sat faced toward him at the points of the radii—the soft earth pulverized formed the tablet—with a slice, like a paper knife, they collect a small square bank of this fine earth, of twelve to twenty inches square, and half an inch in depth, and with a stile of bamboo, or other hard wood, or iron, the whole of their *library of elementary instruction* was comprised.

The teacher had prepared, on some white substance, the letters of the alphabet separately, and after descanting in very simple language on the importance of *writing*, that these first lessons are only preparatory for a progressive acquirement of the powers of the letters, prior to lessons on paper, &c. he begins by a preparative admonition to attention, and avoidance of all other thoughts; he exhibits the first letter to the eyes of his pupils, and he names it; he then uses his stile on a plane of fine earth, and calls upon them severally to repeat the name, and with their stiles to trace the form of the letter. He discovers from his position whichever is defectively written, and requires the pupils to erase and reform his earthen tablet, and continued so to do, till every pupil can do it well.

In this mode the whole alphabet is patiently taught and acquired; and in the same way vowels and compound letters are described; and it is not until proficiency is obtained, that the pupils are permitted to touch paper with ink.

In this way the niceties of language, and variations of dialect, and some history of the affinities with Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, and the local dialects, are acquired; and all the languages they learn are so taught.

The elements of linear figures, their names and properties are taught in the same way.

The decimal notation is thus taught with admirable success, and a rapidity that is surprising, and all before paper and ink are introduced. The ink usual throughout Asia, is *rice* reduced to carbon, and macerated with *gum* and *water*; the pen is a *reed*, cut of the shape of our *pen*, but without any slit, and with a *broad square nib*. The elegance of the writings formed with this rude instrument is very striking.

And thus it is that the Hindus teach all branches which requires the *eye*, the *voice*, the *hand*, and the *memory*.

Poetry they teach in the Hamiltonian manner, and wherever illustration to the eye is practicable, they never neglect to introduce it.

Such is the method which Dr. Bell carried to England, where it was degenerated into a mere *rote*, though the form called the monitorial form of tuition, was so named by Lancaster.

Yet this monitorial system prevailed before Lancaster was heard of, and in a better method, in the *Pestalozzian* system, where no pre-eminence was admitted; and in which every pupil who advanced from the first to the second class, taught or led by turns the classes through which he had before passed.

Like many other things, the Lancasterian system has been praised by thousands who had heard somebody say it was perfect. But, after all, it is no more than a different mode of acquiring words by rote, and without ever knowing their meaning—consequently those who know

the routine are qualified to teach, because nothing is acquired as matter of preference but the knowledge of the manner of conducting the repetition of words without definite meaning.

Such an exposition of human illusion may shock its admirers. The truth, however, had best be told.

This number exceeds our portion of space assigned to this subject; but we shall review it again, for the subject is inexhaustible, because where there is but a single point, as in the compass, where the *needle points true*, when these systems pursue modes which are variable and various as the winds, it is not surprising that men, both teachers and scholars, travel round the circle with labor, and, in the end, with very imperfect knowledge, or never arrive at the destination for which they set out.

We say this with a due allowance for the prejudices to which human vanity is too prone; but if the same homage is to be paid to prejudice as is due to truth, mankind must be consigned to perpetual ignorance, for there is no alternative between progression and retrogression. We assail no prejudices from mere wantonness;—age and experience have long conquered the impulses of vanity. We speak as sincerely as the love of truth demands; when we reprobate the Lancasterian system, we do not doubt that Lancaster was persuaded of all that he said on it; his system of mutual instruction is, in plain truth, only the art of *propagating ignorance*—a character which applies to most other methods.

We have heard it said that Lancaster and Pestalozzi's systems were the same. We cannot excuse such error; it betrays an utter want of knowledge on the subject of Pestalozzi's method. The point of resemblance we noted above—that which Lancaster denominates *mutual instruction*—but who cannot see that this is the description of a manner of teaching, and may be applied to teach ignorance as much as knowledge.

Pestalozzi's pupils took charge of a lesson or a class in rotation, as a necessary part of the *proof of proficiency*,—but no child, in his method, was permitted to teach what he could not clearly explain; not a repetition of the mere words, but the *meaning of the words*. In Pestalozzi's method *fear* made no part of his operative power,—nor mercenary motives not even rivalry, was admitted. The Pestalozzian method is all *recreation, pleasure*—the mind which does not at the first glimpse discern intuitively, by renewed opportunities and by association, obtains slowly what others acquire at sight.

From the Boston Courier.

TO THE PUBLIC.

I beg leave to state, what indeed it is hardly necessary for me to say, that I am not a candidate for the suffrages of the electors in this congressional district.

The cause of popular rights needs no aid from sophistry. While it demands moral courage and fixedness of purpose, it rejects false logic, despises calumny, and disregards personal invective.

After thousands of years of patient waiting, the People have at last, in whole or in part, obtained political power. To what purpose that power shall be applied, is the **GREAT** political question of the day.

The political economist assumes the increase of national wealth as the great end of legislation; to the people, that increase is no benefit, unless the wealth is justly distributed among its producers. The ambitious partisan may esteem our present condition perfect, because "every avenue to distinction, every path to wealth, is open to every citizen." This is well, but it is not all, and it is not enough, and it is not the main thing. It is true even of countries where the mass of people is wretched. An English Lord Chancellor may rise from the cabin of a coal-heaver, even under the Bourbons, a peasant's son might aspire to the peerage; a Jewish outcast is the chief banker of Austria; and at Constantinople the meanest slave has a fair chance of becoming prime minister. The distinguished are few; the wealthy are few; the great end of democracy, is the well-being of the many. Legislation has never yet in any country in the world, not even here, been waked up to the fearless consideration of the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number.

What causes have thus far prevented the application of the

popular energies to the accomplishment of the popular happiness, is the second **GREAT** political question of the day.

The influence of the few is opposed to the diffusive action of benevolence and increases with the increase of population.

The capital of the country controls many of the organs of public opinion; and the men of ability and enterprise, as they spring from the ranks of the people, are absorbed into the ranks of the open aristocracy.

The popular influence and the influence of capital are the two great principles of good and evil in modern political life. Every great improvement in the social condition is due to the popular influence.

The history of modern liberty is but the history of the triumph of the People over aristocracy usurpations. With us "wealth cannot" directly enter the market and "purchase power;" but capital wields a greater influence than in any country on earth except England.

This influence may be traced in all our institutions.

The highest places of education are controlled by close corporations; the youth who are the flower and hope of the country, are placed under governors and teachers, appointed by self-perpetuating bodies, whose sympathies may be on the side of wealth.

In the schools of law and medicine no open competition exist. In matters of religion, endowments are becoming not uncommon, managed by close corporations, and set apart for the maintenance of a particular creed; if to-morrow a monastery were to be in this State endowed with the wealth of millions, the rule of analogy would concede a charter, and establish in its behalf a sort of perpetual ecclesiastical mortmain.

The currency of the country is supplied by corporations.

The common roads are yet free; though for more than seven years, it has been contended, that at least one free bridge is a nuisance.

Rail roads and canals are becoming the great highways of national commerce, and these also are, with insufficient reservations, abandoned to perpetual corporations.

The industry of the country is pouring into the same channel; and the little workshops, which are the artisan's freehold and the frank-pledge of his personal independence, are in danger of being absorbed in the immense factories which are established by corporations.

The culture of the soil yields too small a profit, to be directly interfered with, but the invention of corporate companies, privileged to deal in mortgages, has found the possible way of securing the profits of agriculture to corporations.

Education, religion, the currency the bridges, the artificial channels of commerce, the rivers themselves, mechanic industry, and even agriculture, have thus been in part subjected to capital acting through corporations.

And almost all this has been done within half a century!

To what excesses would another half century of similar legislation conduct us?

The system has been carried so far, that the right of association, without reference to object, is boldly claimed as imprescriptible.

It is the tendency of these measures, to degrade the many. The small farmer passes in the world for less than he did fifty years ago; the mechanic is not relatively what he once was.

In old times they were not called "the lower classes."

If some of our cities are not like Birmingham and Manchester, it is owing not to our legislation, but to the happy accident of our possessing the West.

The third **GREAT** political question of the day relates to the dangers which menace our liberty. What cause may ultimately wrest power from the People?

It took centuries to prepare and mature the constitution of the country;—it will take centuries to destroy it.

A sudden attack on liberty would rouse the nation as one man; for the mighty heart of the People yet beats healthily.

The danger is remote; may it, let us hope, ever be kept remote. But the danger lies in the increasing, unequal distribution of wealth.

Differences will always exist, so long as there is a contest between industry and idleness, between prodigality and thrift; between dulness and ability.

It is the office of the middling class to guard against those extremities of inequality, which are fatal to popular liberty.

Extreme wealth and extreme penury are inseparably yoked together, nabob and pauper are correlative terms.

One small class of very rich men is necessarily attended by crowds of very poor men.

Mobs are the offspring of a monied aristocracy, as surely as death is the child of sin.

Where Stephen Girard acquired ten millions, there the ballot-box is blood-stained.

It is reference to the inequalities of condition, that the question respecting the United States Bank becomes important.

The charges of mismanagement, of corruption, of wilful oppression, are arguments against the directors; it is alone in the influence, adverse to popular liberty and happiness, that a valid reason can be found, why "vast associations of corporate wealth are never to be tolerated."

It is also in reference to the inequalities of condition, that the People insist upon *low salaries*. The payment of a few high salaries is not a great pecuniary burden, and it is not felt as such, is not complained of as such. But the People, in fixing the wages of their servants, solemnly express some opinion on the degree of difference which they are willing should exist in the rewards of labor. The proportion which the salary of an important public functionary bears to the earnings of the husbandman, is the precise measure of the inequality, which the *People deliberately sanction*.

To say that the right application of popular sovereignty, the obstacles to its healthy exercise, and the danger to its permanent existence, are not the **GREAT** political questions of the day, is to shut one's eyes on the drama, which the world is acting.

These are questions which are now agitating the public mind, throughout all civilized nations, the attention of the most powerful writers of Europe is arrested by their consideration; not a packet ship arrives, but brings new disquisitions on them; many of the leading men in France and Belgium and England grapple with them fearlessly; in our own country they are not the idle, unmeaning question of the novice or the electioneerer; they lie deeply fixed in the thoughts of the People; are taken to the ballot-box, control elections, and almost mould legislation.

The spirit of deference to popular right—the spirit which has indiscreetly been called atrocious, is the spirit which should beam from every line of American statutes, should dictate every judicial opinion on constitutional questions, should counsel every elector as he casts his vote, and should interrogate every legislator as he returns to his constituents.

Thus much is a sufficient reply to those who would divert public attention from great political questions. Yet it may be well to rebuke the precipitancy, which founds a charge of inconsistency on false premises. The words attributed to me with a view to excite a distrust in the fixedness of my convictions, were neither written by me, nor seen by me, nor known by me to have been written, until they were printed and published.

It is also in season, to rebuke the intolerance, which would limit the praise of *Calvin* to a single sect. They who have no admiration but for wealth and rank, can never admire the Geneva reformer, for though he possessed the richest mind of his age, he never emerged from the limits of frugal poverty. The rest of us may be allowed to reverence his virtues and regret his errors. He lived in the day when nations were shaken to their centre, by the excitement of the reformation, when the fields of Holland and France were wet with carnage of persecution—when vindictive monarchs on the one side threatened all protestants with outlawry and death, and the Vatican on the other sent forth its anathemas and its cry for blood.

In that day, it is too true, the influence of an ancient, long-established, hardly disputed error, the constant danger of his position, the intense desire to secure union among the antagonists of popery, the engrossing consciousness that his struggle was for the emancipation of the Christian world, induced the great Reformer to defend the use of the sword for the extirpation of error. Reprobating and lamenting his adhesion to the cruel doctrine, which all Christendom had for centuries implicitly received, we may, as republicans, remember that *Calvin* was not only the founder of a sect, but foremost among the most efficient of modern republican legislators.

More truly benevolent to the human race than *Solon*, more self-denying than *Lycurgus*, the genius of *Calvin* infused enduring elements into the institutions of Geneva, and made it for the modern world, the impregnable fortress of popular liberty, the fertile seed-plot of Democracy.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Northampton, Oct. 22d, 1833.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S OPINION OF THE WAR ON THE 3d OF JANUARY, 1814.

See his speech of that day, as published in the National Intelligencer.

Mr. Webster uses the interrogative style in order to give more effect to his oratory. We will convert it into plain English; and we call upon him to deny, if he dare, that he uttered such sentiments, or to justify their utterance, or palliate their enormity, if he can.

Mr. Webster's opinion of the War, as declared in a speech which he made in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 3d of January, 1814, is as follows:

It was "wrong" in its origin, "ill-judged," "ill-timed," and "ill-considered." We wanted "better generals," "better armies," and a "better cause." He was not clear "in regard to

the justice and necessity of the war," and our cause was not approved either by "the judgment," or the "consciences of those whose efforts were indispensable to its vigorous prosecution"—(meaning of course the party to which he then belonged, and now belongs, the factious aristocracy of that time and of this.) The "advocates" of the war could not show that it was "just," or "necessary," or "unavoidable,"—they could not show that it was an "American war," resting on "American grounds."—"If they ever make all this manifest, the war would change its character."

Be it remembered that Mr. Webster is one of the leaders of the SWIG party!—*Eastern Republican.*

From the Boston Morning Post.

We give below the United States Bank Statement for the month of October. The principal items stand as follows, viz:

Loans on Personal Security,	\$ 30,012,831 36
Bank Stock,	1,028,416 78
Other Securities,	3,626,580 10
	34,667,828 24
Domestic Bills of Exchange,	11,086,373 07
	45,754,201 31
Baring, Brothers, & Co.	2,628,646 79
Specie,	15,910,045 31
Redemption of Public Debt,	235,005 50
Treasury of the United States,	429,465 07
Public Officers,	1,337,168 06
Individual Deposits,	6,741,752 24
Circulation,	15,968,731 90
Due from other Banks,	2,036,103 99
Due to other Banks,	2,950,095 48
Notes of other Banks,	1,341,094 38

On comparing this with the statement of the 1st of October, it will be perceived that the aggregate of discounts has fallen during the month about a quarter of a million of dollars—that the funds in Europe have diminished nearly half a million—that the specie has been increased about three hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and the circulation has also increased about three hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The decrease of loans on personal security has been nearly half a million, while the investment in domestic bills has increased about two hundred thousand dollars.

The following is the state of the Branches in the four principal cities, viz.

	New York.	Philadelphia.	Boston.	Baltimore.
Loans on Personal Security,	4,352,764.31	3,401,788.97	1,461,068.42	1,452,218.94
Bank Stock,	51,500.00	198,155.38	33,732.10	115,885.00
Other Securities,	324,186.07	2,366,135.09	13,607.00	50,200.00
	4,728,450.38	5,866,079.44	1,508,427.52	1,618,353.94
Dom. Ex.	1,502,627.47	1,387,331.00	1,275,091.74	185,408.76
	6,231,077.85	7,253,410.44	2,783,519.26	1,803,762.70
Due from other Banks,	271,881.81	570,477.70	300,000.00	49,071.67
Due to other Banks,	983,575.36	927,744.16	233,176.59	128,953.93

Since the last statement there has been a curtailment in New York of near three hundred thousand dollars upon loans on personal security. What does this mean? Have they been applying the screws to certain debtors, just before the election? What is Mr. Biddle's promise to the New York committee now worth, that there should be no more curtailments? And what becomes of the defence, by that hypocritical "Journal of Commerce," which they offered in behalf of the Bank, saying that the reduction was alone upon Domestic Bills. Now the sum of Domestic Bills has increased since the last statement. What apology will they bring forward now?

The struggles of the Bank Party for power are not yet over. Thus far, to be sure, that party has been worsted, but it will make renewed exertions for life and dominion. It will prepare itself to renew, so far as it has power, the panic and pressure of last winter. It will probably time this effort for the period of the Presidential election in 1836. The Bank charter will expire in the early part of that year, and under the plausible excuse of calling in its debts, to wind up its affairs, it will attempt, by coercion, to compel the country to yield it a recharter. The country owes it to itself to guard against the hostile designs of the Bank and its partisans, and the most effectual way to do this, is to cripple its power by crippling its means. Its bills should be sent home—its illegal branch drafts ought to be discredited every where by the Government and the People. The trading community ought to refuse its loans, and avoid trading with it on any terms, and the patriotic, every where, should stamp with reprobation, and point the finger of scorn at its feed advocates in Congress, and at those who justified its robbery of the public treasury, in seizing upon the dividends it held in trust.

We learn with regret, that the Hon. Wm. C. Preston has had a stroke of paralysis, and that serious apprehensions are entertained about him.—*Charleston Mercury.*

STATE OF THE CURRENCY.

SPEECH OF MR. BENTON,

OF MISSOURI.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, January 20th, 1832.

(Continued from p. 240.)

And now Mr. President, what was this experiment, of hazard so great, of issue so doubtful, which never succeeded elsewhere, the progress of which was watched with so much fear and trembling, and the fancied success of which is announced with so much satisfaction? Sir, it is the invention of this branch bank currency! It is the substitution of branch bank orders for the promissory notes of the Bank of the United States! And surely, from the first establishment of banks to the present day, a more potent medicine was never invented for the cure of the diseases to which banks are most subject. It has completely overcome all the difficulties which the bank lay under at the time of Mr. Cheves's memorial, and which were then admitted to be fatal to it. What were those difficulties? They were a two-fold impediment: first, a total inability to sign notes fast enough; secondly, a total inability to pay for them, according to the charter, after they were signed. The remedy wanted, was, increased facilities for signing; diminished liabilities for paying! And the orders have completely answered this double object. Signers enough now, and compulsory payment no where! This is the glorious relief which the experiment has brought. This is the cataplasm which has healed the wounds of the Bank. This is the medicinal drug—the balsamic drink—the restorative infusion—which has poured a new portion of strength into the exhausted machine, and enabled it to bear its infirmities a little longer. Fifty signers at work, and 150 endorsing clerks, pouring out from five and twenty places their perennial streams of paper. When out, it is not payable by law any where. Not at the branch which issues it; for there is neither promise nor law, to exact the payment there. Not at any other branch; for the 14th section of the charter does not apply to orders, and we have just seen that they were invented to evade that section. Not in Philadelphia; for, notwithstanding that may be the purport of the order, yet it is an absolute impossibility; for the People of this wide Confederacy—the laboring people especially who handle these small orders—can never go up to Philadelphia, to demand the hard money for them. Yes, sir, these orders are the thing. It is the currency of which they are composed, which has enabled the machinery of the Bank to go to work after the inaction from 1819 to 1827. It is this currency which has enabled it to flood the South and West (as I will show presently) with paper for which it has not the means of redemption. It is this which has enabled its votaries to raise the cry, brief and delusive, of sound and uniform currency. It is this which enables the retainers of the Bank to contradict President JACKSON for repeating its own words; yes! repeating their own words: for the message of 1829, declaring the failure of the Bank to furnish a sound and uniform currency, is nothing but the repetition of what the Bank Directory itself had declared, and what all intelligent men know to be true. It is this illegal, irresponsible currency which has enabled the Bank to fill the Union with debtors in chains, who scream incessantly for the life and glory of their JUGGERNAUT, and attack with the fury of wild beasts every public man who will not square his public conduct by the devouring miseries of their own private condition, and the remorseless cravings of their insatiate idol.

I have now established, Mr. President, as I trust and believe, the truth of the first branch of my proposition, namely; that this currency of branch bank orders is unauthorized by the charter, and illegal. I will now say a few words in support of the second branch of the proposition, namely, that this currency ought to be suppressed.

The mere fact of the illegality, sir, I should hold to be sufficient to justify this suppression. In a country of laws, the laws should be obeyed. No private individual should be allowed to trample them under foot, much less a public man, or public body; least of all a great monied corporation wielding above one hundred millions of dollars per annum, and boldly contending with the federal government for the sceptre of political power, MONEY IS POWER! The Bank of the United States possesses more money than the Federal Government; and the question is now to be decided between them. That question is wrapped up in the case before you. It is a case of clear conviction of a violation of the laws, by this great monied corporation; and that, not of a single statute, and by inadvertence, and in a small matter, which concerns but few; but in one general, sweeping, studied, and systematic infraction of a whole code of laws—of an entire constitution, made for its sole government and restraint—and the pernicious effects of which enter into the revenues of the Union and extend themselves to every monied transaction between man and man. This is the case of violated law which stands before you; and if it goes unpunished, then do I say, the question of political power is decided between the Bank and the Government. The question of supremacy is at an end. Let there be no more

talk of restrictions, or limitation in the charter. Grant a new one. Grant it upon the spot. Grant it without words! Grant it in blank! to save the directors from the labor of re-examination! the court from the labor of constructions! and yourselves from the degradation of being publicly trampled under foot!

I do insist, Mr. President, that this currency ought to be suppressed for illegality alone, even if no pernicious consequences could result from its circulation. But pernicious consequences do result. The substituted currency is not the equivalent of the branch bank notes, whose place it has usurped; it is inferior to those notes in vital particulars, and to the manifest danger and loss of the people.

In the first place, these branch bank orders are NOT PAYABLE IN THE STATES IN WHICH THEY ARE ISSUED. Look at them! they are nominally payable in Philadelphia! Look at the law! It gives the holder no right to demand their contents at the branch bank, until the order has been to Philadelphia, and returned! I lay no stress upon the insidious circumstance that these orders are now paid at the branch where issued, and at other branches. That voluntary, delusive payment, may satisfy those who are willing to swallow a gilded hook; it may satisfy those who are willing to hold their property at the will of the bank. For my part, I want law for my rights. I look at the law—to the legal rights of the holder—and say that he has no right to demand payment at the branch which issued the order. The present custom of paying, is voluntary, not compulsory; it depends upon the will of the bank, not upon law; and none but tyrants can require, or slaves submit to, a tenure at will. These orders, even admitting them to be legal, are only payable in Philadelphia; and to demand payment there is a delusive and IMPRACTICABLE RIGHT. For the body of the citizens cannot go to Philadelphia to get the change for the small orders; merchants will not remit them; they would as soon carry up the fires of hell to Philadelphia; for the bank would consign them to ruin if they did. These orders are for the frontiers; and it is made the interest and the policy of merchants to leave them at home and take a bill of exchange at a nominal premium. Brokers alone will ever carry them, and that as their own, after buying them out of the hands of the people at a discount fixed by themselves.

This contrivance, Mr. President, of issuing bank paper at one place, payable at another, and a distant place, is not a new thing under the sun; but its success, if it succeeds here, will be a new thing in the history of banking. This contrivance, sir, is of European origin. It began in Scotland some years ago, with a Banker in ABERDEEN, who issued promissory notes payable in LONDON. Then the Bank of Ireland set her branches in SLIGO, CORK, and BELFAST, at the same work, and they made their branch notes payable in DUBLIN. The English country bankers took the hint, and put out their notes payable in LONDON. The mass of these notes were of the smaller denominations, one and two pounds sterling, corresponding with our five and ten dollar orders; such as were handled by the laboring classes, and who could never carry them to LONDON and DUBLIN to demand the contents. At this point the British Imperial Parliament took cognizance of the matter; treated the issue of such notes as a vicious practice, violative of the very first idea of a sound currency, and particularly dangerous to the laboring classes. The Parliament suppressed the practice. This all happened in the year 1826; and now this practice, thus suppressed in ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, is in full operation in our AMERICA! and the Directors of the Bank of the United States, are celebrated as the greatest of financiers, for picking up an illegal practice of Scottish origin, and putting it into operation in the United States, and that, too, in the very year in which it was suppressed in Great Britain.

In the next place, these orders are impoverishing and destructive to the States in which they are issued, because they lead to the ABDUCTION OF ITS GOLD AND SILVER. If notes are issued, they are payable at the branch bank, and an adequate supply of gold and silver must be kept on hand to redeem them; but these orders, being drawn on Philadelphia, the gold and silver of the State must be sent there to meet them. This is the clear, undoubted theory of this new-fangled currency; it is also the proved established practice, and effects of it.

Every body in the South and West knows that the hard money of the country is constantly disappearing; but those only who have observed the working of the machinery of the Bank of the United States, can tell where all this hard money is gone. The monthly statements of the Bank will tell this secret. They will show that the gold and silver of the South and West goes to the North East; and that the branches are the channels of collection and remittance. Here are some items from the returns of the year 1830, the last which have yet been printed; and which will throw a little light upon this subject.

	Specie.	Notes Issued.
New Orleans, April, 1830,	700,815	6,421,275
Mobile, August,	55,368	1,557,745
Nashville, October,	185,304	2,080,500

Louisville, December,	200,825	1,088,560
Lexington, December,	78,430	1,484,110
St. Louis, June,	126,603	679,880
Cincinnati, November,	155,157	977,455
Pittsburg, April,	38,620	736,897
Richmond, August,	170,510	1,064,415
Fayetteville, October,	26,342	1,192,205
Savannah, August,	304,547	1,735,700
Charleston, December,	266,962	1,425,255
PHILADELPHIA, August,	3,728,626	2,581,080
NEW YORK, November,	2,351,190	1,764,627
Boston, August,	1,327,755	721,505
Baltimore, October,	738,000	780,657

Here is a picture for you, Mr. President, and a contrast with it. On one side, a most beggarly exhibition of empty boxes; on the other, fulness and distention to bursting. West of the Alleghanies, and South of the Potomac, no hard money; in the North East, millions at every point. But as a compensation for this deficiency of metal, we have a most bountiful supply of paper. Ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, to one, is our proportion of paper to silver. And for all this paper, the country is in debt, and pays interest—bank interest—to non-residents and foreigners! Gentlemen of the South complain of the tariff, and doubtless with much reason, but the day is at hand when every eye shall see, and every tongue shall confess, that the tariff is not the only, nor the largest, nor the most voracious vampire, which sucks at their veins! The Bank of the United States divides that business with the tariff, and like the stronger brother, takes the largest share to herself. She furnishes her brood of these insatiable suckers. She hangs them on every vein of gold and silver which the South and West exhibits. They gorge to repletion; then vomit their load into the vast receptacles of the North East; and gorge again. The hard money of the country, that money which pays no interest, is sucked up and sent away; the paper money of a company, for which bank interest is exacted, takes its place. The people of the country are in debt for this paper, the greater part of them at second and third hand,—borrowers from borrowers,—paying rack-interest to the intermediate lenders. The labors of the year barely suffice for the payment of the 60 days collection of all this interest. The principal is still behind, to come upon these exhausted countries when delayed payment has doubled the difficulty of making payment. When that dread day comes, and come it will, and nothing is gained by putting it off, the towns and cities of the South and West,—the fairest farms and goodliest mansions,—will be set up to auction, to be knocked down to the Bank agent, at the mock prices fixed in the compting room of the Bank itself. And in these mock sales of towns and cities may be laid the foundation for the titles and estates of our future nobility. Duke of Cincinnati! Earl of Lexington! Marquis of Nashville! Count of St. Louis! Prince of New Orleans! Such may be the titles of the Bank nobility to whom the next generation of American farmers must "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee." Yes, sir! when the renewed charter is brought in for us to vote upon, I shall consider myself as voting upon a bill for the establishment of LORDS AND COMMONS in this America, and for the eventual establishment of a KING; for when the LORDS AND COMMONS are established, the KING will come of himself!

In the third place, the emission of these orders has deluged the country with COUNTERFEITS. The evils of counterfeiting was one of the objections made to the application of the Bank for the leave to appoint an agent and register to sign the five and ten dollar notes. The danger was so obvious and imminent that the memorial of the Directors candidly admitted it, and entered into the suggestion of many precautionary measures to prevent it. They admitted that if the signers were numerous or temporary, the danger of counterfeiting would be excessive, and destructive; but declared that the Bank, with a view to its own interest, would not suffer them to be either numerous or temporary, although the act might not limit the number. The Directors proposed, however, to limit the number to two; to make them permanent officers in the Bank, and to publish their appointment in the Washington City Gazette, before they should begin to act. A bill with all these provisions, was reported; but Congress refused to pass it, and for this reason, among others, that the power of signing the notes involved the power of judging their genuineness; and this power was too high and dangerous—too easily abused—and too hardly remedied—to be trusted to any but the very highest officers of the Bank; those whose character and station would afford the strongest guarantees to the public for the fair exercise of a power so delicate and responsible. Congress refused to pass the bill. What next? Why, sir, Mr. Cheves and his Directory submitted; but a new directory came in, and what did they do? They re-examined the constitution of the Bank, and discovered the means of overcoming the difficulty. They substituted branch bank orders for branch bank notes, and set, not two, but fifty signers, and one hundred and fifty endorsing clerks, at work upon these orders. What is the consequence? Counterfeiting to an excess and audacity never

paralleled before! I saw in Missouri, before I left home, a descriptive list of ninety-nine varieties of counterfeits on the Bank of the United States and its branches alone; most of them of the class of these five and ten dollar orders. This list was contained in a periodical sheet, called "*Counterfeit Detector*," a work wholly given up to describing counterfeits on the United States Bank and its Branches; for to such excess has this crime arisen, as to give birth to a new species of literary publication; a periodical newspaper wholly devoted to the description and detection of counterfeit paper currency. The remedy only announces the extent of the evil; it does not cure it. None but business men in cities, and a few official characters, can afford to buy and study these periodicals; the body of the people have no benefit from them. After all, the *Detector* is no guide; the marks of a counterfeit detected and described in one number of the periodical, is corrected and amended in the next edition of the counterfeits. They instruct the counterfeiters how to amend their work. The fact is, nobody can tell the good from the bad. Brokers and bank officers assume to do it; but they had as well assume to be conjurers and astrologers. They had as well practise incantations, and deliver oracles in convulsions and contortions, as to look at this paper and pronounce judgments. They had as well gaze at the stars, and judge by the motions of the heavenly bodies, as to look at these orders and judge from the writing and engraving. They had as well do as the soothsayers of old,—go out upon a high hill,—watch the flights of birds,—and then prognosticate that the order is good or bad, as the bird chances to fly, dexter or sinister, as it passes the hill. Far from knowing the hand writing, they hardly know of the existence of the writers! Yet these solemn judges condemn, and condemn irrevocably, the property of the people! They all know how to draw the sign of St. Andrew's cross; and that fatal sign, drawn through the face of an order, is decisive of its fate. True or false, good or bad, from that moment it falls into the receptacle of things, not lost, but damned on earth.

I do not stand here, Mr. President, to enlarge upon the general evils of a counterfeit currency, such as belong in common to the forging of all bank paper; but there are evils peculiar to the circulation of these counterfeit orders, which give a distinctive character to the mischiefs which they inflict, and demand a particular animadversion. These evils grow, first out of the wide extent of the circulation of these counterfeits, which carries the forgeries of every State of the Union into every other State; thus affecting each part with the miseries of the whole,—swelling the mass of crime and fraud, and augmenting the difficulties of detection in proportion to the distance from which the intrusive counterfeits came. The next peculiar evil is in the multitude of incompetent judges; already about one hundred and fifty in number, and annually increasing. A third peculiar evil is in the one-sided character of these judges, all appointed at the will of the Bank, all holding their appointments at her will, and all feeling it to be their interest to commit no mistakes to her prejudice. The last, and greatest, of these peculiar evils is in the small size of these orders, which throws their counterfeits upon that class of the community who are least capable to detect the imposition, and least able to bear the loss. The laboring classes, the middle-sized farmers, and the country people, are the peculiar victims of this species of counterfeits. They handle small sums, and the small-sized counterfeits fall upon their hands. Every counterfeit must stop somewhere. Sooner or later it must stop in somebody's hands; and the mass of these small ones will certainly stop in the hands of the poor people. Thus it was in England. In the space of six years, from 1812 to 1818, no less than 154,454 counterfeit notes were presented and detected at the Bank of England; of which 128,800 were for one pound, corresponding with our five dollar orders; and 18,562 were for two pounds, corresponding with our ten dollar orders; leaving only about 8,000 notes out of upwards of 154,000, for all denominations above two pounds, or ten dollars; thus incontestibly proving that the poor were the losers, and the victims. This was stated in his place, by the Honorable HENRY GREY BENNET, who stated at the same time that out of 501 persons convicted of forging, or passing, or offering counterfeit notes, in the short space of thirteen years, of whom 207 had been hung, and others deported, the mass of them were poor people; and the notes for which they died, were small ones, of one and two pounds, equal to five and ten dollars. And he said, at the same time, that the stockholders of the Bank of England, in this frightful mass of crime, and fraud, and misery, and death, had found their consolation and their profit in dividing among themselves TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING! equal to about ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!—this is what the counterfeiting part, or forgery department of the banking system, arrived at in England: this is the point to which the forgery of these branch bank orders is rapidly carrying the American people. And for all the crime and misery which has grown out of the counterfeiting of these orders, and all that shall grow out of them, the Directors,

who violated their charter to do what Congress forbid, are justly accountable to God and man!

I have carefully abstained, Mr. President, from the use of any topic of a general, or exciting nature. I have confined myself to a mere judicial pleading. But there is one argument against the issue of this currency which goes directly to the honor, the dignity, the independence of the States, that I cannot forbear to hold it up for an instant and to pass it as a shadow before you. It is this. We all know the high and responsible nature of the coining power. It is an attribute of national sovereignty; in its nature belonging to the highest authority in every form of government. The States of this confederacy, each for itself, became invested with this high power, the moment they burst the chains of British vassalage. Possessed of the right in full, they divided it in part with the Congress of the confederation. The convention of 1789 gave it exclusively to the new federal government; and since that time no State can coin money, regulate its value, emit bills of credit, or make any thing but gold or silver a tender in discharge of debts. Congress alone has the full power to coin and regulate its value; a disputed power to emit bills of credit, and no power to make any thing but gold and silver a lawful tender. Well, the Bank of the United States refers its origin, in the opinion of many, to the coining and regulating clause in the constitution. What is admitted by all, is, that Congress has granted to the Bank a power to issue a paper currency far beyond the amount of coined currency in the Union; that this paper currency is receivable in payment of all dues to the federal government; and being so receivable, thence enjoys a degree of credit, and circulation co-extensive with the limits of the Union. Names, Mr. President, are nothing, substance is every thing. The substantial power of coining and regulating the currency, is in the Bank; for it issues a currency which exceeds the coin in quantity, and supercedes it in circulation. Congress gave this great power,—in effect one of the highest attributes of national sovereignty,—to the company of individuals incorporated under the misnomer of the Bank of the United States; this company has devolved its power, so far as the branch Bank orders are concerned, upon their subaltern agencies, called branch banks; and, according to the opinion of the federal court, may devolve it upon whatever agents they please. These subaltern agencies are protruded into the States, and there exercise a power superior to that which the State governments surrendered to the federal government. They issue a paper currency within the State which supersedes and expels the hard money. They issue a paper currency NOT PAYABLE WITHIN THE STATE, NOR WITHIN THE NEXT STATE; NOR WITHIN 500 OR 1000 MILES; NOR PRACTICABLY PAYABLE ANY WHERE! AND FOR NON-PAYMENT OF WHICH THERE IS NEITHER PROHIBITION, NOR PENALTY IN THE CHARTER. This currency necessarily, and practically, becomes a currency of bills of credit, redeemable at the will of the issuer, and not at the will of the holder; and these bills, all people (in the South and West at least) are under a virtual duress to receive; because all other currency is chased away: And thus, these bills of credit, become a forced and irresistible tender in the payment of debts. Can the States stand this? If they can, they are ripe and ready to sink into the condition, not of provinces of the empire, but of farms,—the rack-rent farms,—of a great monied oligarchy.

Sir, I stop; not that I have finished, but that every thing must have an end—even the overflowings of grief and indignation at viewing the frightful progress which a great monied oligarchy is making over the sinking liberties of the land. The cause demands a different advocate. It calls for that rare man who rebuked and overthrew the audacious enterprise of Walpole,—who overturned the judgments of the King's Court,—drove back the royal patent across the Irish channel, and saved the people of Ireland from the evils of an illegal currency, and their government from the degradation of seeing a private individual exercising the high power of issuing a national currency within her limits. The crisis calls for that man. It calls for the dauntless spirit, the mighty genius, the lofty scorn of hopes and fears, which belonged to the illustrious Dean of St. Patrick! and if we are now destined to sink in this contest,—which Heaven in its infinite mercy avert,—but if we are destined to sink, then do I say, that it is not for want of a cause less just, less righteous, less national, less holy, than that in which Ireland triumphed, but because the combined powers of all America's patriot sons are UNABLE TO WRITE THE DRAPERS LETTERS!

APPENDIX—No. 1.

EXTRACTS from the Memorial of the President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States, to Congress in 1822. Relative to the repeal of the 14th section of the charter.

"No subject connected with the currency can be of more importance than the circulation of the notes of the Bank of the

United States. They may be made infinitely useful in purifying, sustaining, and increasing, the sound currency of the Union. But they are but partially so at present, and it is not in the power of the Bank, so long as they are receivable by the government, at all points where they may be tendered, instead of being received only where they may be payable, to make them coextensively useful with the Union. Thus, for example, the notes of the Western and Southern offices are receivable in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, &c. in payment of all debts to government. The Bank is not bound to pay to the government except where its notes are payable, though they may be received elsewhere, but it is bound to transfer the funds of the government from place to place, and could only gain a little time, perhaps with inconvenience to the government, by refusing to pay where they may be received. It has according always,—except for a moment, when the safety of the Bank rendered it necessary to ask the time to which it is entitled,—paid where the notes were received, without reference to the places where they were payable. The result is very embarrassing to the Bank and frequently very distressing to the community. There are some facts which it will be proper to state, before we present a more detailed view of the evil.

"The exchanges between the West and the Atlantic, are always against the former, which is a large debtor habitually to the latter. The exchanges between the North and South run for one portion of the year against the latter and for another in its favor. When the exchanges are unfavorable to the South and West, the notes of the Southern and Western branches all pass to the North as a substitute for exchange. They are equal to cash, or very nearly so, in all the principal cities north of the Potomac. They are so, because they are receivable in payment of duties to the government, the portion of which, payable to the north of the Potomac, in any quarter of the fiscal year 1819, was taking that year as an example, nearly as much as the whole circulation of the Bank of the United States at the same time, and of course kept up a steady demand for the notes of the Southern and Western branches. The union of this demand with the course of exchanges, draws the whole of the notes of the Western offices to the Atlantic, and at particular seasons of the year the greater part of the notes of the Southern offices to the North. The revenue collected to the South, being comparatively small, there can never be any material reflux of their notes, because they will be absorbed by the Northern demand before the exchanges turn, and the balance of payments being always against the West, there is never any towards that quarter.

"Under the 14th section of the act incorporating the Bank, the bills or notes of the Bank originally made payable, or which shall hereafter become payable on demand, are made receivable in all payments to the United States, unless otherwise directed by act of Congress. Under this regulation the power of the Bank to make its capital available, either for its own profit, or the public good, is greatly abridged. The sphere of its circulation is limited to those places where it is least wanted, and made to exclude those where it would be eminently useful, while the whole currency of vast sections of the country, is thereby frequently greatly embarrassed.

"The uncertain liability of the Bank and its branches, as each are in a certain degree liable to pay the notes of all the rest, and the perpetual alteration of the capital of each, by paying the notes of the others, and having its notes paid by them, put it beyond the power of calculation to determine the extent of business which can be safely done, and leaves the Bank to vacillate between the hazards of rashness and the fruitless results of a torpid prudence. To-day a branch shall have a million of capital and in three months it may be without a cent."

No. 2.

Extract from the same memorial, relative to the request for leave to appoint an agent and register to sign the small notes.

"It has been suggested that the authority which is desired, might diminish the securities against counterfeiting. This would be true, if the officers designated, were to be temporary or numerous, but the objection will be entirely removed if they be not more numerous, and be as permanent in their appointments as the officers who now discharge the same duties. All this the Bank, with a view to its own interest and security, would order, should it not be prescribed by law, which, however, may be done."

No. 3.

The Bill reported in the Senate to authorize the Bank of the United States to appoint an agent and register to sign notes, and rejected.

"That it shall be lawful for the Directors of the Bank of the United States to appoint an agent and a register to reside at Philadelphia; and that all bills and notes of the said corporation, issued after the first appointment of such agent and register shall be signed by the agent and countersigned by the register; that such bills and notes shall have the like force and effect as the

bills and notes of the said corporation, which are now signed by the president, and countersigned by the cashier thereof; and that, as often as an agent or register of the said corporation shall be appointed, no note or bill signed by an agent or countersigned by a register, shall be issued until public notice of the appointment of such agent or register shall have been previously given, for ten days, in two gazettes printed at the City of Washington."

No. 4.

From the Missouri Monitor January 1, 1832.

"The numerous counterfeits on the various Branches of the Bank of the United States, has given rise to a new description of newspapers in St. Louis and many other places—necessary, and intended solely to guard the community against spurious Bank notes! The December number of 'Thomas's Counterfeit Note Detector,' exposes one hundred and fifty-nine varieties of counterfeit bills."

From the Detector Novr. 1.

BRANCH BANK NOTES.

Since the decision of the court held in Cincinnati, and Col. Benton's speech, at our court house, there has been an unusual quantity of these counterfeit drafts presented at my office.

Merchants and business persons examine your branch drafts.

From the same Dec. 19.

The present number of the Detector contains the full list of all the different descriptions of counterfeit and altered notes that have been presented at my counter since the publication of the first number on the 28th of April. You will find it has 159.

One hundred and fifty-nine varieties detected at one broker's office in nine months—from April to December, 1831. Suppose one thousand of each variety to be put out for circulation, it will be 159,000 counterfeits: Suppose these be in the same proportion of small and large as in England; it will give about 130,000 of the size of five dollars; about 20,000 of the size of ten dollars; and no more than about 9000 for all the higher denominations put together!—The number of varieties stated in the speech in the Senate, namely, 99, was taken from a November number of THOMAS'S COUNTERFEIT DETECTOR; the number that shows the amount to be 159 varieties, is of the 19th December, and only seen since the delivery of the speech. Upon these data the quantity of counterfeit United States Bank paper in circulation in the West on the 19th December last, would be \$1,300,000; to wit:—

130,000 counterfeit of \$5		\$650,000
20,000 do 10		200,000
9,000 do 50		420,000
		\$1,300,000

N. B.—The British Parliament, in 1826, prohibited the issue of all bank notes less than £5 sterling, (about \$24,) on account of the facilities for counterfeiting small bills and passing them to poor people; and because they banished specie from circulation, and compelled farmers and country people to use small notes in their common dealings, without being able to judge of their validity.

No. 5.

The issue of branch bank orders, not payable at the branch, is a preparation for the subjugation of the State Banks. They cannot set-off a demand against them by presenting an equal amount of branch bank orders, payable in Philadelphia, for their own notes payable on the spot, unless the branch chooses to do so.

No. 6.

The Bank of the United States issues from ten to fifty dollars in the South and West for one hard dollar in her vaults, and demands the highest interest for loans of this paper: in the North-east she issues but one paper dollar for one and a half or two silver ones in bank, and loans this paper at 4½ per cent. *Query:* Where is the love of the Bank of the United States for the South and West? *Query,* again: Where does she make the profit which enables her to divide seven per cent. after paying expenses which exceed one per cent more? *Query,* a third time: How much must other parts pay on loans, and bills of exchange, to carry 4½ as far above 8½ as will bring the average of the whole to 8½.

No. 7.

EXTRACTS from the debates in the House of Lords on the motions for the suppression of the bank paper currency issued in one place and payable in another: March and April, 1826.

The extracts are taken from the debates of the LORDS, as being, perhaps, of more authority in a case which concerns the Bank of the United States.

"The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE rose to call their lordships attention to a topic which had been mentioned on a former occasion. He alluded to the practice of many bankers issuing promissory notes, making them payable at some place distant from where they were issued. This was a practice which could not be defended. * * * The branch Banks of the Bank of Ireland issued the notes of the Bank payable only in

Dublin, and circulated them all over the South of Ireland; at present those notes were at a discount. * * * Great mischief must result from this practice, and the legislature ought not to allow its existence. * * *

No better means could be adopted, of keeping the currency sound, than to give every facility to the inhabitants of the place where bank notes were issued, to take those notes, ON THE FIRST ALARM, immediately to the Bank from whence they were issued, and to procure from that Bank payment for the notes so returned. * * * If Banks in the same place made their notes one payable on the spot, the other at a distance, these latter would pump the gold out of the others, and ruin their rivals!!

"LORD MELVILLE said, the noble Marquis had supposed that Scotsmen would be unanimous on whatever they said on this measure. That supposition would not be found to be quite current; but there would be no division of opinion among them on a question of flagrant injustice. It was proposed to alter the Scotch system of banking, and to prohibit the circulation of all notes under £5. * * * If their lordships made any alteration in the present system, they would compel the great banks to withdraw their branch Banks from different parts of the country!!

LORD KING observed, that this bill was introduced to prevent disreputable practices, but it unfortunately extended to Scotland, and consequently it had the whole body of Scotch lords on their legs to oppose it. It put him in mind of a passage in Mr. Burke's celebrated speech on economical reform, in which he stated that Lord Talbot had attempted to reform the King's household, but that the measure was defeated because the King's scullion was a member of Parliament. So, here, he found that all the attempts at putting an end to the disreputable practice would be frustrated, because some Scotch banker happened to be a member of Parliament."

"The EARL OF CALEDON hoped the noble Marquis (Lansdowne) would persevere in his motion. He saw nothing to prevent the House from going on."

"LORD CLIFTON thought that as the measure had for its object the restriction of paper issues, it ought to be adopted. He had seen the bad effects of the present system in Ireland; and, if bank notes there were to be payable only in Dublin, the same evils might occur again. It was not men of fortune, but the lower orders would be the sufferers."

"The EARL OF LIVERPOOL said, that as far as he understood the principle of this bill, he entirely concurred with it. That Banks should pay at the places where their notes were issued, and that this should be done, not only by the chief Banks, but by all the principal branch banks, was a proposition to which he perfectly agreed, both on the ground of principle and expediency."

"The EARL OF LAUDERDALE said, it should be observed that the Bank of Ireland had a decided advantage over the provincial Banks: for the notes of its branches were made payable only in Dublin, whereas the notes of the provincial Banks were convertible into cash at the places where issued. In fact the branches were made engines to collect gold for the Bank of Ireland."

"The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE looked upon the measure as essential to the establishment of a sound circulation in the country. If notes were not payable where issued, a species of circulation of a various nature must be the consequence. Ireland might be left without any circulating medium but paper.—The Bank notes of Ireland might be so framed, that the people could not get gold for them without sending to England."

"The LORD CHANCELLOR (ELDON) said, that in the last session but one, a case had been brought before their lordships by writ of error, in which a promissory [bank] note, or bill of exchange, had been made payable in London. A question had arisen, whether it was sufficient that a demand for payment of that note had been made in the country, or whether it must be made in London? On this subject the Judges (the 12 Judges) were divided, several of them thought it was not necessary that the demand should be made in London; but the majority, and their lordships were of the same opinion, thought it was necessary to make the demand in London, and that the declaration should contain an averment that it had been made."

No. 8.

The National Intelligencer, in November last, published an article importing that one of the Senators from Missouri was doing a mischief to his State, by trying to drive away capital from it; that is to say, the capital sent by the parent bank in Philadelphia to the branch bank in St. Louis. The terms in which that paper made that charge upon that Senator, are not such as to forbid his replying to it. He will therefore reply, and say, that the monthly statements made by the bank directory to the Secretary of the Treasury, and by him communicated to Congress, and sometime printed by the editors of the National Intelligencer, and now by the editor of the United States Telegraph, DO CERTIFY NOT ONE CENT OF CAPITAL IS EMPLOYED IN THE UNITED STATES BRANCH BANK AT ST. LOUIS.